1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

855 264 No control is exercised over children in the matter of food. Children eat at all hours, and as much as they like. When hungry they cry for food, sometimes up to the age of ten or more.

855 Parents are excessively indulgent to their children, and adults generally allow them liberties. For instance, small children are allowed to sit beside their parents in a concourse of adults and eat with them. I remember seeing only once a child beaten by its father. The idea that a child should be controlled seems wanting. A child that flies from its angry parents to some relative is not rejected. A Lauan said to me once, "We see white children how still they keep, and think they are to be pitied."

856 861 The people do not believe in educating children. Small children are said to be without minds (*tawa vakayalo*). Bigger children are watery souled (*yalo wai*). It is generally believed that it is useless to teach them anything, and that schools ought to be for big boys, almost young men. To the argument that the education of young children gives the best results in Europe, it is answered that Fijian children are quite different.

861 The education of Fijian children consists therefore in picking up things as they go along by example. The way in which they learn dances is characteristic: they do not join until about the sixteenth year, when they are left to muddle through. Their ignorance is therefore extraordinary and in marked contrast to the greater maturity of the children of the New Georgian group of the Solomon Islands, who, mixing freely in the conversation of their elders and sometimes conducting religious ceremonies in the absence of adults, are consequently early acquainted with many things.

861 603 The Lauan children pick up tales, but tell them most unintelligently. Much depends on the grandmother. Mosese was an exceptional boy in telling tales; the reason given for this was that he was "a boy with a grandmother" (*ngone vakatumbuna*). His grandmother, a lady, used to tell him tales heard from the nobles.

857 868 On the other hand, children pick up practical knowledge very early, because they begin to help their parents—boys, their fathers; girls, their mothers—at an early age, though at their own sweet will, more as a game at first. Gradually this develops into regular and real work till at the age of fifteen or sixteen they are enrolled among the adults as far as work is concerned. One energetic man boasted that he paid taxes at fifteen. Children thus very soon become experts on fishes and plants. When walking about, their chief interest is not the scenery but the food plants they descry. Food is indeed their chief interest, and they define everything in terms of food.

Crying is indulged in till a late age, but is more a sign of anger than of grief, especially vicious howling. Tui Tumbou thought Matuku boys

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881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 834 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*), but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining [302] indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating 754 she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter 644 of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
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> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her com- 857 panions played with dolls (*vakatalulave*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or 797 cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

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854 The infant is petted and encouraged by all his female relatives. When he cries his wishes are usually fulfilled. He becomes accustomed to the presence of people, noise, and light, and under these conditions he falls asleep, wakes, and sucks. As a result, a healthy child does not cry often or long, but is placid, good-natured, and content. He likes attention, and responds to it with a smile. He is spoiled by his grandmother, especially if he is the first born, and he is often played with and carried about by little girls of nine or ten. The growth and development of the child are a matter of interest to his relatives who discuss and make much of his first tooth, his learning to crawl, stand, and walk. If the child is slow in learning to stand he is taken, according to the natives, to the beach where a hole is dug in the sand. He is placed in the hole in standing position and buried up to his chest. The child remains in this position for some time. This is done almost every day until he is able to stand.

854 As the child learns to walk he gradually shows more independence. He spends more time with his relatives apart from his mother and with the children of his own age group. Very early he begins to feel his way into the behavior patterns toward his kin, and the ties between the child and his grandparents grow closer. He learns to call his grandmother by the pet name, *tutu*. His grandparents become a refuge to him, for he knows that they will always welcome him and protect him from the scolding and ill temper of his parents.

Occasionally at this age a child who is the first born goes to live in the house of his paternal grandparents. While we were in Tokalau, little Peni Lawathi, between one and two years of age, lived with his paternal grandparents and their three unmarried daughters. He was a bright responsive child, the first born of his generation. Some relative was always playing or joking with him. He was demanding. He was rarely with his mother or widowed maternal grandmother,

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867 157 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 857 524 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to [776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 534 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

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[facing p.44]

BOYS AT WORK

Two pilos are carrying lengths of pandanus thatch ready to be lashed to the roof framework of a house.

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539 BROWN YOUTHS AND VIRGINS

Memu wai o nggori ka Kula;
Au solia mai loaloa;
Au solia na ndrau ni thevunga:
Memu wai o nggori ka Kula.

This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised;
I give it from the wilderness;
I give the leaf of the *thevunga:*
This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised.

Chant used when taking food to youths in isolation after circumcision.

858 Now comes a difficult period for the boy. From the age of
855 about seven until his initiation between eight and thirteen years, his life is uncomfortable. He is ignored, teased, tormented and overworked. He is called by the degrading,
[578] humorous, obscene term *pilo* (pronounced pi'-lo), and a *pilo* he is in the eyes of the whole community.

A *pilo* is neither child nor man. He is no longer allowed to play in mixed gangs, and yet he is still excluded from all the interesting masculine activities of his father and older brothers —the preparation of food for the earth oven, sailing, house and canoe building, adult games, and love affairs. His growing masculinity brings about bars that separate him from girls of all ages. Women are inaccessible to him for they bestow their favors upon the initiated. The idea of an affair with a *pilo* is quite ridiculous to them. Yet he is not a man, and he is definitely separated from circumcised youths and older men. He is thwarted and he suffers from feelings of inferiority, becomes self conscious, awkward, silent, and retiring. His plight is highly amusing to the community, especially to the young women and swaggering initiated youths who amuse themselves by ridiculing and spurning him. The only emo-
[838] tional outlet for boys of this age is in masturbation or homosexual relationships with other *pilos*. Such relationships are absent among men, according to both male and female informants.

858 But a *pilo* is useful. He is no longer a liability to the com-
● 857 munity, but has become its youngest asset. Chores he learned

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858 to do at an early age now become duties. Work is heaped
857 upon him. He must accompany the men to the gardens, help them with their work, and carry heavy loads of food, firewood, and green leaves back to the village. He is kept busy running errands for his older brothers and cousins. A *pilo,* however, no longer sees the boys of his own age group frequently. He still plays occasionally with his friends in the village or on the beach. He plays the games of childhood—with toy canoes and spears.

Thus the *pilo,* denied association with the youths and men of the village, spurned by the girls, and cut off from boys of his own age, hovers on the margin of social life. His attention is turned upon his growing masculinity, which has gained high value in his eyes, and he longs for the time when he will be initiated into manhood.

881 In Lau the initiation of boys into adulthood centers in the
304 rite of circumcision. According to the natives, the harvest season is best for the ordeal, for inflammation is less likely to occur when everything in nature is dying. Occasionally, however, a youth dies as a result of the operation. The group of initiates gather secretly at the appointed place, usually some distance from the village, and the operation is performed by the village circumciser, a medicine man who has learned the art of circumcising by observation and practise.

881 After all the initiates have been circumcised, they walk to one of the men's houses in the village. They are confined there for four days, under the doctor's care. The doctor instructs them to be quiet, not to fear the dark, and not to think about girls.

On the first day after circumcision the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a small feast for the doctor. Then the initiation becomes known in the village. The feast is presented to the doctor outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl 857
turns to the company of the women and girls of her clan. She 868
begins to take part in their economic activities, which center in and around the kitchen house. One of her first duties is to grate the ripe coconut meat in the preparation of coconut cream in which fish and greens are boiled daily. She also accompanies the older girls to the beach, and learns to kill fish by biting their heads, to clean them, and to extract the shellfish from the shells. Occasionally she accompanies older girls to the bush and learns to recognize and collect tender edible greens. All these activities are done in a spirit of play and curiosity as the girl explores and experiments with her world.

The girl likes to be with women, to sit with them, watch 857
them, listen to their gossip, laugh when they laugh, and do 524
what they do. She plays with stones and fruit, makes whistles out of leaves, and learns from the women to make string figures. I did not see any children playing with dolls, but informants say that little girls do occasionally play with a piece of wood wrapped with barkcloth. A little Lauan's dolls are real, for one of her main occupations is to take care of the babies of her clan, especially her younger brothers and sisters.

When the girl reaches the age of ten or eleven her playful 857
activities take on somewhat the character of work, for girls between the ages of twelve and twenty-five do almost all the daily work which falls to the women. Young girls, working in sub-clan, clan, or occasionally larger groups, gather the daily supply of fish or shellfish from the lagoon, and the greens and firewood for the kitchen from the bush. Frequently one hears from afar the harsh rhythmic chants they sing while walking through the jungle. The girls usually prepare the fires in the kitchen houses and boil the food for the evening meal. At this age some girls learn to make mats, and a few learn from their mothers the first steps in the complicated technic of making barkcloth.

Up to the age of eleven or twelve no special attention is paid 858
to the sex life of children except that the speaking tabu is 864